1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of
574 cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a
[439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop-
[697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared,
[576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *hdnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

291 ship period.

302 832 [114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 [301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four handannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[287] [285] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another [415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins [177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, [301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their [302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and [768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding [177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-